2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

181 Arrogant towards other tribes, and
609 touchy towards their fellows, they seem to endure in silence any kind of treatment from a chief or a European.

181 To my mind their most attractive characteristics are quick sympathy and adaptability in human relationships, an elaborate courtesy and sense of etiquette, and a great polish of speech. A day spent at the Paramount's court is apt to make a European's manners seem crude and boorish by contrast. In ordinary intercourse the Bemba strike one as more sophisticated and civilized than the neighbouring Bisa, but much less sensible, hard-working, and efficient in managing their practical affairs.

Country and Climate.[1]

● 131 A glance at the Tribal map will show that the Bemba proper only inhabit the central portion of the country over which the Cibemba-speaking peoples are scattered. The natural boundaries of this Greater Bembaland are: Lake Tanganyika on the North, Lake Bangweolu to the West, and the escarpment of the Luangwa valley rift to the East. Only to the South is there no geographical boundary and the same type of forest extends almost uninterruptedly from Mpika to Broken Hill, 350 miles away.

133 The Bemba country is generally described as the 'Great plateau' of Northern Rhodesia. Crossing the country from the west to the east one seems to be moving over a series of tablelands tilted and bent into different shapes. Two or three days walk from the main escarpment to the East the general undulating character of the 'plateau' comes to an end in a succession of lesser scarps until one descends to the Luangwa escarpment proper. Natives are so impressed by this terrific natural boundary that they have been known to make a special journey to gaze down on the Luangwa valley from the *Mucinga Lubemba*—the 'great wall of the Bemba country'.

The country is very well watered. The divide is on the North-eastern side of the area. Streams to the east of this flow into the Zambesi, by way of the Luangwa, those to the west belong to the Congo system. The Chambesi, a broad still river that crosses the Bemba territory from the Northern border to the South-west is the most significant landmark in native eyes,

[1] Mrs. Gore-Browne drafted these first four paragraphs for me. *Vide* also A. G. Ogilvie, 'Co-operative Research in Geography; with an African example', *British Ass. for Advancement of Science*, Section E, 1931.

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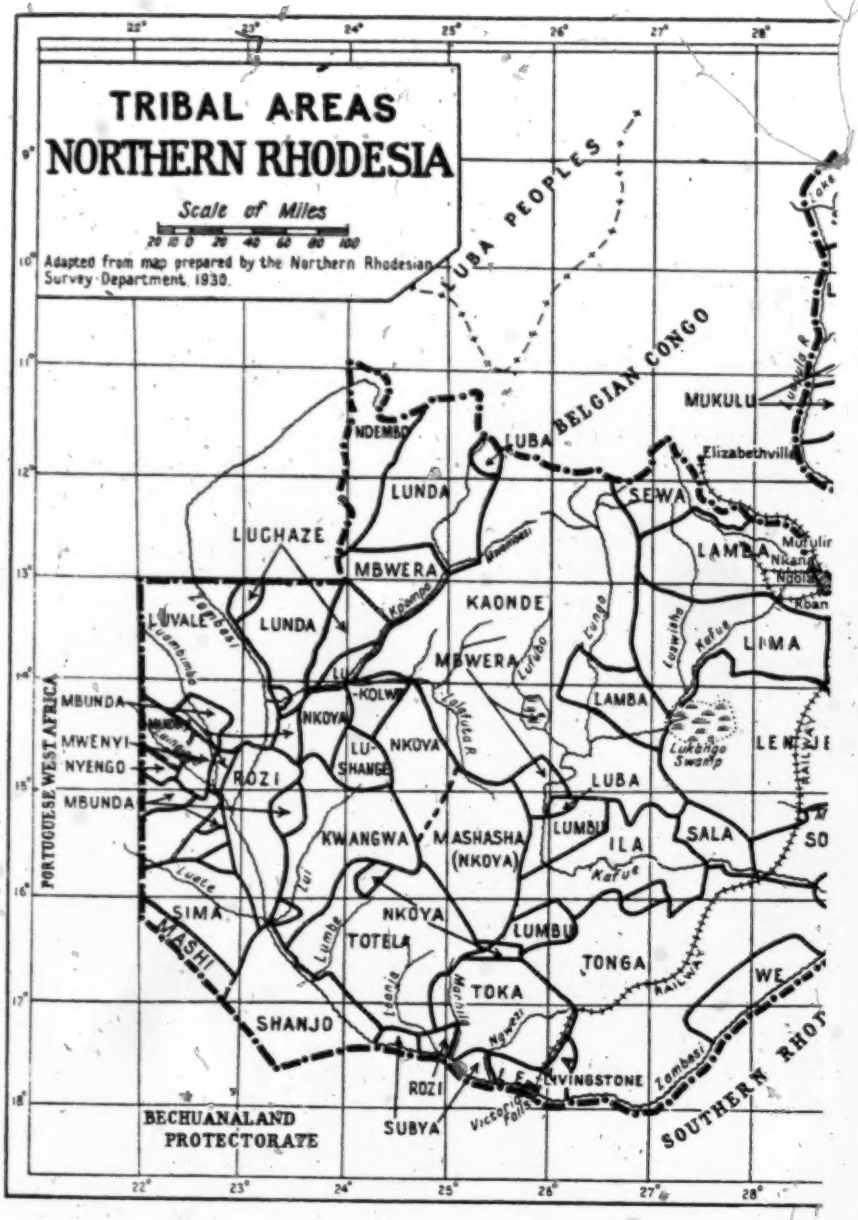

[end map 2(a)]

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

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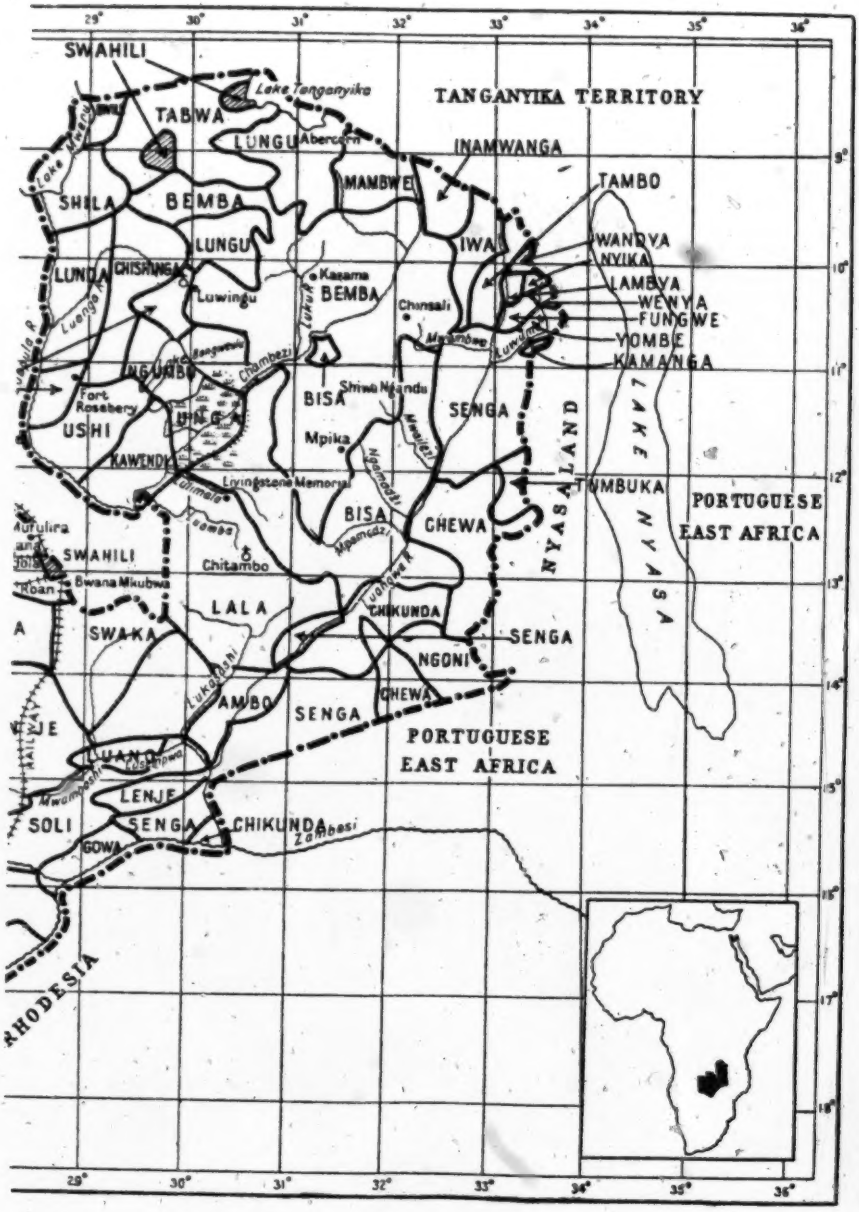

[end map 2 (b)]

4:Whiteley E-4 (no date) 1950 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

THE BEMBA AND RELATED PEOPLES OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

INTRODUCTION

This section is concerned with a group of matrilineal peoples having linguistic and other cultural affinities, who belong to the wider group usually known as the Central Bantu,(1) and occupy the north-eastern plateau and the Bangweulu Swamps of Northern Rhodesia. They include: 101

(I) The BEMBA, BISA, AUSHI (with sub-groups NGUMBU, CHISHINGA, MUKULU, KAWENDI), UNGA, SHILA, TABWA, BWILE, TWA.

(II) The LALA including the LUANO.

(III) The AMBO (or KAMBONSENGA).

(IV) The LAMBA, including the SEWA, LIMA and SWAKA.

(V) The KAONDE.

Notes are appended on:

(VI) The SENGA, a Tumbuka-ised offshoot of the Bisa.

I. The *BEMBA* occupy an area on the north-eastern plateau of some 20,000 square miles, between latitudes 9°-12°S. and longitudes 29°-32°E.: an area which includes virtually the whole of Kasama administrative district and much of Mpika, Chinsali, Luwingu and Mporokoso. To the west, south and east, in a corridor of varying width, stretches the territory of the Bisa. Further to the west and stretching into the Belgian Congo(2) are the Aushi and their sub-groups Ngumbu, Chishinga, Mukulu and Kawendi. The inhospitable swamps of the Lake Bangweulu are occupied by the Unga and the little-known Twa. To the north-west are the Shila, Bwila and Tabwa, also extending into the Belgian Congo. In the territory of the last are still to be found enclaves of Swahili-speaking groups, made up of Arabs, Yao, Nyanja and other groups who, coming originally into the area as slave traders, have settled down and intermarried with the local population. Some Tabwa (c.3,500 in 1937) and Bemba (c.30,000 in 1937) are living as minorities in the reserves demarcated by the Commission of 1927. 101 131

II. The *LALA* occupy an area between 12°-15°S. and 29.5°-32.5°E., covering the whole of the administrative district of Serenje, parts of Mkushi and Petauke districts and an area in the Haut-Katanga district of the Belgian Congo in the territory of Sakania. This last, also known as Bukanda district, is occupied by four Lala chieftaincies;(3) Munday describes it, as well as the Luano country to the south, as being occupied by similar, but distinct groups: Bena Bukanda and Bena Luano.(4) There is little other 000

(1) cf. I. Schapera, "A working classification of the Bantu Peoples", *Man*, May, 1939.
(2) See map for the extent of the Aushi, Bemba, Shila and Tabwa into the Belgian Congo.
(3) Lambo, 1946, No.8, p.233.
(4) Munday, 1, 1940, p.435; 5, 1948.

southwards has been noted by Munday.(1) The Lamba occupy about one-fifth of this whole area.

Prior to 1926 there was little interference with tribal settlement or movement in the area. In that year, however, a commission was set up to determine native reserves - to be set away from but with access to the railway southward from Ndola and away from the immediate vicinity of the Copperbelt, both of which areas were deemed capable of development by Europeans. Four reserves were subsequently set up: (1) Lamba - Lima (redefined in 1942), (2) Swahili - Yao, (3) Swaka - North, (4) Swaka - South (redefined in 1943). The result of these changes on the population distribution is discussed below.

V. The *KAONDE*(2) are the most westerly group of the peoples under consideration, and occupy the greater part of the administrative districts known as Kasenga, Mumbwa and the old Solwezi district. It is not clear how far their territory extends into the Belgian Congo. Verhulpen's(3) tribal map of the Katanga province of the Belgian Congo marks the Kaonde as extending almost to 24° east to an average depth of 45 miles over the Northern Rhodesian border. Maes and Boone,(4) however, make no mention of any Kaonde groups in the Congo: there is an isolated reference to 'Kawonde' in Angola(5) but this is not substantiated by any other references. Moffat Thomson(6) mentions that there are Kaonde in the Congo.

VI. The *SENGA* occupy both banks of the upper reaches of the Luangwa river between about 10°30'S.-12°S., and parts of the administrative districts of Lundazi and Chinsali. There has been some confusion in the past of the Senga with the Nsenga people,(7) who are located to the south-east of the lower reaches of the Luangwa river and who formerly extended over to the west bank. It seems clear that the Nsenga are of Maravi stock, with Lenje-Lala accretions, who seceded from the Cewa about the middle of the last century.(8) In contrast, the Senga appear to be a Bisa offshoot with Tumbuka(9) accretions, who were driven into the valley under Bemba pressure. The difference is also to be seen in language. (See p.70 below.)

The *MAMBWE-LUNGU*, numbers of whom are found in the northern districts of North-eastern Rhodesia, have been grouped historically, culturally and linguistically(10) with the patrilineal Iwa and Mwanga to the east of them, with whom they share affiliations to the Fipa peoples of South-west Tanganyika. Linguistically, while Doke(11) considers both to be dialects of Bemba, Guthrie(12) places Mambwe and Lungu with Fipa in a single group, with Iwa and Mwanga in a second group of the same zone. The Mambwe-Lungu are not

(1) Munday, 1, 1940.
(2) Other variations, e.g. *Kahonde*, *Kawonde* are found in Belgian publications but the above is generally recognised as being correct.
(3) Verhulpen, 1936.
(4) Maes and Boone, 1935.
(5) Van Buggenhout and Wens, 1933.
(6) Moffat Thomson, 1934.
(7) viz, Coxhead, 1914; Moffat Thomson, 1934; Trapnell, 1943.
(8) Livingstone, *The Zambezi and its Tributaries*, quoted by Poole, 1934; Tew, 1950, p.31.
(9) Poole, op.cit.
(10) See Moffat Thomson, 1934; Meinhard, 1947; Guthrie, 1948.
(11) 1945. (12) op.cit.

considered here but will be discussed in a forthcoming section concerned with the peoples of the eastern shore of southern Lake Tanganyika and adjacent regions.

In brief, the Bemba-Lala-Lamba-Kaonde groups, with their closely related sub-groups, occupy almost the whole of North-eastern Rhodesia and the northern parts of North-western Rhodesia, besides adjacent areas of the Belgian Congo.

With the exception of the swamp-dwelling groups, the Unga and the Twa, all live under broadly similar conditions. Plentiful rainfall waters the generally unproductive plateau soils covered by deciduous woodland. The density of population which such land can carry is small, reaching only to about 12 persons per square mile, and this figure is not exceeded, or even approached, except in reserves where local over-population of a serious nature occurs, and in the swamp areas where inundation creates a land shortage either permanent or seasonal. The total population of the selected groups can be reckoned to be about 440,000.

GENERAL CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

The languages of these peoples are closely similar, so much so that the whole group of peoples in this area has been loosely termed "Bemba-speaking".(1) Guthrie, however, distinguishes within one of his linguistic zones *Bemba* with *Aushi* as a sub-dialect; *Tabwa* with *Shila* as a sub-dialect; and a further group of closely related languages, *Bisa, Lamba, Lala, Swaka,* and *Sena.*(2) He places *Kaonde* in a different linguistic zone, L, because it has certain distinct features, such as a single prefix in independent nominals, which make it more closely related to the Luba group of languages. No mention is made of the languages spoken by other small groups closely related to the Bemba, such as Chishinga, Mukulu, Ngumbu, Kawendi, and Bwile. What little is known about the languages spoken by the Unga and Twa suggests that they may be closely related to Bisa.

There is apparently little linguistic evidence to support the tradition held by all these peoples that they originated in areas west of the Luapula from peoples of Luba stock, although Richards says that Bemba told her that archaic words they used in ceremonies at their Paramount's court were "Ciluba".

These people practise shifting cultivation with finger millet as the staple crop in the east and cassava in the west. The absence of cattle in the area distinguishes them from the Mambwe to the north and some of the Ngoni to the east. The greater part of the area lies within the tsetse belt, but Lambo mentions that cattle were used as marriage payments among the Lala, and a few goats and sheep are kept by the Bemba and probably by other tribes. Hunting was highly developed in the west of the area before the arrival of Europeans and hunting guilds and associations are recorded.

(1) Richards, 6, 1939, p. 16, and Moffat Thomson, 1934.
(2) Guthrie, 1948. A zone is both a geographical and a linguistic concept in that the languages within it have both linguistic affinities and geographical propinquity.

5:Slaski E-4 (no date) 1950 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

Luapula Peoples

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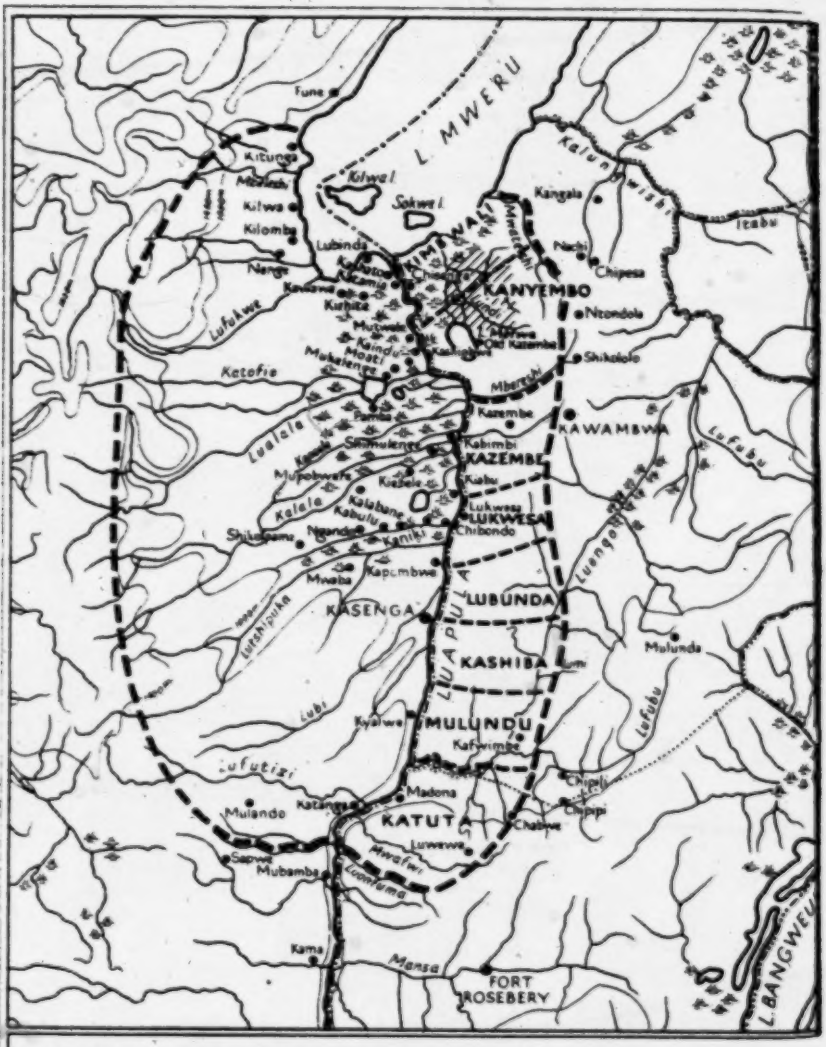

THE CHIEFDOMS OF THE LOWER LUAPULA VALLEY

— — In Belgian Congo: approximate limit of the Kingdom of the Nkuba.
In N. Rhodesia: approximate limit of the Kingdom of the Kazembe and of its component Chiefdoms.

Bemba colony

BOUNDARIES
International
Provincial
District

Scale 0 10 20 30 40 Miles

[facing p. 77]

5:Slaski E-4 (no date) 1950 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

THE LUAPULA PEOPLES

INTRODUCTION

114 Published data on the peoples of the Luapula Valley, the most important of whom are the Lunda of Chief Kazembe, are extremely meagre. They consist mostly of casual information scattered through the pages of travellers', officials' and missionaries' books. It would have been impossible to make any ordered survey on the basis of these data. Fortunately, however, Mr. I. G. Cunnison, Research Officer of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, was in England for a few months after completing his first year's researches in the region, and was kind enough to make available his rough manuscript on certain topics as well as information embodied in lectures he gave at Oxford. Without these it would have been impossible for this part of the survey to have been written at all. As no full, considered analysis of his material has yet been made by Mr. Cunnison, he has no responsibility for my interpretations in any part of this survey.

GROUPING AND DEMOGRAPHY

101 563 The Lower Luapula valley is inhabited by groups of diverse tribal origins. Those on the east bank of the river in Northern Rhodesia are known to their neighbours as *Bena Kazembe* (the people of Kazembe) and are often collectively described as "Kazembe's Lunda". The conquering Lunda (also known as *Londa, Alunda, Varunda, Aronda, Alonda, Balonda*),(1) were probably never numerically preponderant, but they established themselves as a governing class and still retain to some extent their former prestige and political ascendancy. The west bank of the Luapula, which lies in the Belgian Congo, has passed under the dominance of the Nkuba of the royal Shila (also known as *Wasira, Messira*) line. This ruling group of the matrilineal Shila, congeners of the Bemba,(2) had earlier controlled territory on the east bank but were subdued by the invading Lunda before the middle of the eighteenth century.

131 The kingdom of the Lunda Kazembe thus consists of an elongated strip of country stretching almost due north-south for about one hundred miles, along the meridian 28° 45' between 9° and 11° lat. S. To the west it is bounded by the Luapula, and to the east by the uninhabited hills of the escarpment beyond which lies the tribal territory of the Chishinga. Beginning about thirty miles south of the Lucongo, a tributary of the Luapula, it extends northwards to Lake Mweru and twenty miles up its east shore to the Mwateshi stream, including Sokwe island on Lake Mweru.

The limits of the modern Nkuba kingdom to the west of the river can be indicated with less certainty as running from Lake Mweru in the north through the Kundelungu mountains and thence to the river about the same latitude as the southern limit of the kingdom of Kazembe.

The valley forms a natural ecological and economic unit orientated

(1) Burton, 1873, p.36. (2) See p.1.

131 towards the Luapula and, in several respects, markedly differing from the surrounding plateau country.

226 The abundance of fish in the Luapula, which is free from rapids and easily navigable below Johnston Falls near the mouth of the Luongo, makes fishing an important economic pursuit in which virtually all the adult male population participate and to which are attached elaborate ritual observances. (see below p.94) Besides being an important item in the native [439] diet, fish constitutes the chief trading asset of the country.

134 On the plateau, where soils are poorer and the population is almost exclusively dependent on agriculture for its livelihood, the shifting
241 *citemene* system of cultivation is the rule. In the valley, however, the rich alluvial deposits make possible a semi-permanent mound cultivation; this removes the necessity for changing village sites periodically and results in a greater stability. Cassava, of little account on the plateau, where finger millet and Kaffir corn predominate, is the staple food crop in the valley.

186 Common traditions accumulated over two centuries, during which the valley constituted the core of Kazembe's kingdom, have made the population conscious and proud of its past.

611 The patrilineal reckoning of descent introduced and established by the Lunda, as well as their tribal heterogeneity, mark the valley peoples off from the matrilineal and ethnically homogeneous neighbouring tribes: the Shila-Katya (north west), Shila (north), Lungu, Chishinga (east), Mukulo, Aushi (south), Lamba (south-west), and Lenotwa (west).

631 The Kazembe is now Paramount over the western (Northern Rhodesia) side of the valley, ruling directly in the province surrounding his capital. His kingdom is divided into eight chiefdoms, ruled by the following chiefs (from Lake Mweru southward): Kambwali, Kanyembo, Kazembe himself, Lukwesa, Lubunda, Kashiba, Mulundu, and Katuta. Sub-chiefs Muyembe and Kapesa administer two districts carved out of the metropolitan chiefdom but cannot hold courts. Lubunda, Mulundu, Katuta and Kapesa are of Chishinga extraction, the others are Lunda.

Kilwa island, with its Swahili chief Nahimba, now falls outside the Kazembe's kingdom.

TRIBAL MIXTURE

166 As a result of piecemeal settlement and frequent inter-marriage the com-
619 ponent tribal groups are as a rule distributed over the whole territory. Local concentrations occur nevertheless: the Shila and Tabwa predominate in the extreme north, the Lungu in the Mulele district, the Chishinga in the Mununshi valley. A Bemba colony occupies land between Lake Mofwe and Lake Mweru granted to Mwawamukupa in return for the assistance given by his brother Mwaba, a Bemba chief, in opposing the invading Bayeke and re-establishing the fugitive Kazembe. On Kilwa island the descendants of Swahili slavers and Nyamwezi copper traders live alongside the aboriginal Shila.

The bulk of the population is made up of the Shila, Lunda, Chishinga,

7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

ciples of social grouping such as descent, age, sex differences, or local ties by which the tribe may be integrated and the incidence of authority determined; (*d*) the economic bases of the people's activities which affect their degree of dispersal, the form of leadership required, and the economic values associated with political prerogatives; (*e*) the type of foreign rule to which the tribe is subject and the European elements that are effecting its political development, i.e. variations in policy from the administrative system known as Indirect Rule in Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, Uganda, to the more direct government by the white man in South Africa or the attempts made to create new political institutions for Natives, such as the Bunga system of the Transkei.

All these factors will be found to account for differences in political organization among a number of the kindred peoples known as the Bantu, and I shall try to analyse the Bemba system along these lines.

II. The Bemba Tribe

(*a*) *Tribal Composition.* The Bemba tribe at present inhabits the Tanganyika plateau of north-eastern Rhodesia, between the four great lakes—Tanganyika to the north-east, Nyassa to the east, and Mweru and Bangweolu to the north-west and west respectively. They number to-day about 140,000, very sparsely scattered over the country at a density of an average 3·75 per square mile.

The Bemba trace their origin to the area now known as the Belgian Congo and declare that they were originally an offshoot from the great Luba people which inhabits the Kasai district. The fact that the first ancestor of the Bemba is known as Citi Muluba ('Citi the Luban') substantiates this tradition, together with the cultural similarities still noted between the two peoples and the fact that Luban words, no longer understood by the Bemba commoner, are still used as part of the religious ritual at the paramount chief's court. The legends of immigration are numerous and circumstantial. The first arrivals apparently crossed the Lualaba River, which forms the western boundary of their present territory, about the middle of the eighteenth century, and travelled north and east until they established their first headquarters near Kasama, the present administrative centre of the Bemba country. From the sociological point of view, their history